Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00663 01 OF 02 161428Z

47
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

BIB-01 IO-11 EPA-01 DOTE-00 FEAE-00 DHA-02 EB-07

COME-00 VO-03 SCA-01 /087 W
---------- 129816
R 161302Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8778
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MOSCOW 663

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, CSCE
SUBJECT: NEW CSCE APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA

REF: STATE 6150

1. SUMMARY. EMBASSY BELIEVES NEW APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA ON CSCE WOULD BE TIMELY AND USEFUL, AND WELCOMES OPPORTUNITY TO CONTRIBUTE SUGGESTIONS CONCERNING SUBSTANCE. WE WOULD PROPOSE TWO-PART PRESENTATION DESIGNED TO SET STATE FOR SUBSEQUENT CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS OF PRACTICAL STEPS. FIRST PART WOULD SET FORTH GENERAL U.S. STANCE ON CSCE IMPLE-MENTATION, WELCOME RECENT PROGRESS, AND ALLUDE TO IMPORTANCE OF MAINTAINING MOMENTUM--FOR GOOD OR ILL--FAR BEYOND CSCE ITSELF. SECOND PART WOULD PRESENT U.S.
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00663 01 OF 02 161428Z

VIEWS ON SPECIFIC POINTS RAISED IN OCT 14/NOV 12 EXCHANGE AND, IN ADDITION, ON REDUCTION OF TRAVEL LIMITATIONS,

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

AND INVITE SOVIET VIEWS. IF FURTHER DISCUSSIONS RESULT SOVIETS MAY NEED TO DEMONSTRATE RECIPROCITY AT SOME POINT IF MOMENTUM IS TO BE MAINTAINED, AND WE SUGGEST USG MAY WISH TO CONSIDER MAINTAINING MAXIMUM RESERVE OF POSSIBLE MOVES ON OUR PART FOR USE AT THAT TIME. END SUMMARY.

2. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, A NEW APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION IN THE RELATIVELY NEAR FUTURE STANDS SOME CHANCE OF MOVING THE SOVIETS FORWARD IN THIS FIELD. WE CONTINUE TO BELIVE THAT VISIBLE PROGRESS IN CSCE IMPLEMENTATION AS A RESULT OF U.S.-SOVIET DISCUSSION WOULD BE OF BENEFIT TO BOTH SIDES, AND SEE FOUR REASONS WHY A NEW APPROACH WOULD BE TIMELY.

3. FIRST, KORNIYENKO'S NOV 12 REPLY TO OUR OCT 14 DEMARCHE WAS CONSTRUCTIVE BY SOVIET STANDARDS, AND KOVALEV MADE WHAT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN AN UNSOLICITED APPROACH TO THE WEST GERMANS ALONG SIMILAR LINES DEC 23. SOVIETS MAY FEEL THAT THE BALL IS NOW IN WESTERN COURTS.

4. SECOND, OVER THE PAST SIX WEEKS OTHER EVIDENCE HAS ACCUMULATED THAT INTERNAL REVIEW PROCESS TO WHICH KORNIYENKO ALLUDED OCT 14 IS NEARING COMPLETION. THE SOVIETS HAVE RECOMMITTED THEMSELVES TO INTEGRAL FUL-FILLMENT OF CSCE OBLIGATIONS SEVERAL TIMES AT THE HIGHEST LEVEL (BREZHNEV WITH HUSAK NOV 25 AND IN WARSAW DEC 8, AND COMMUNIQUES FOLLOWING EE FONMINS' MEETING HERE DEC 15-16 AND SUBSEQUENT BILATERAL MEETINGS WITH TURKS AND FINNS). FOLLOWING KOVALEV'S PRESENTATION TO BOELLING, THEY HAVE TAKEN OR ANNOUNCED A NUMBER OF CONCRETE STEPS UNDER THE CSCE DEVISE (JOURNALISTS' TRAVEL, MANEUVER NOTIFICATION AND INVITATION TO OBSERVERS, REDUCTION OF PASSPORT FEES, DIPLOMATIC TRAVEL, REVISED LAWS ON MARRIAGE
CASES, GREATER FLEXIBILITY IN ADMINISTRATION OF FOREIGN PASSPORT SYSTEM). AT THE SAME TIME, FINNISH MFA POL DIRECTOR ILONIEMI CAME AWAY FROM DEC 26-30
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

CSCE DISCUSSIONS WITH IMPRESSION THAT THIS PROGRAM MAY STILL BE SUBJECT TO CHANGE (AND, BY IMPLICATION, PUSH) IN ITS SPECIFICS; HE WAS TOLD THAT KOVALEV IS HARD AT WORK WITH A FULL TASK FORCE ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION.

5. THIRD, ON OUR BILATERAL FRONT, WE HAVE COMPLETED A CONSTRUCTIVE SESSION ON EXCHANGES, AND ARE PREPARING FOR CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS. BOTH TOPICS MOVE WITH THEIR OWN MOMENTUM, BUT BOTH ARE ALSO CSCE-RELATED, AND IF THE SOVIETS COMPARE OUR ACTIVITY IN THESE TWO AREAS

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

WITH INACTIVITY CONCERNING FOLLOW-UP TO OUR OCT14/
NOV 12 EXCHANGE, THEY COULD DRAW A MISTAKEN CONCLUSION
REGARDING U.S. PRIORITIES.

6. FINALLY, ALTHOUGH THE FINNS GAINED THE IMPRESSION
DURING THE SORSA VISIT THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE NOTHING
VERY DEFINITE IN MIND WHEN THEY TALK AND WRITE ABOUT
ALL-EUROPEAN DISCUSSION OF ENVIRONMENT, TRANSPORTATION
AND ENERGY, THE FACT REMAINS THAT THIS BREZHNEV PROPOSAL
(AT WARSAW DEC 8) HAS NOW BEEN INSERTED INTO SOVIET
COMMUNIQUES WITH TWO CSCE PARTICIPANTS, TURKEY AND
FINLAND. IF THE SOVIETS WISH TO PUSH SUCH PROJECTS
(WITH THEIR BASKET II EMPHASIS) AS EXAMPLES OF
"PRACTICAL STEPS" TO IMPLEMENT THE FINAL ACT, IT WOULD
BE TO OUR ADVANTAGE TO COUNTERBALANCE SUCH PRESSURE
BY MAINTAINING OUR OWN EMPHASIS ON THE AREA OF PRIORITY
EMPHASIS TO US, BASKET III.

7. IN SUM, IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE TIME IS RIPE FOR
A NEW APPROACH, AND WE WELCOME THE OPPORTUNITY TO
CONTRIBUTE SUGGESTIONS ON ITS CONTENT. WHILE WE ARE
NOT IN A POSITION TO FILL IN THE DETAILS, WE WOULD
SUGGEST A TWO-PART PRESENTATION ALONG THE FOLLOWING
LINES.

8. THE FIRST PART WOULD SET FORTH OUR GENERAL VIEWS ON
CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, IN A CONCISE COMPASS AND WITH A
CONSTRUCTIVE TONE. IT WOULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING POINTS
(AS WELL AS THOSE ADDITIONAL POINTS WHICH WILL OCCUR TO
THE DEPARTMENT): THE IMPORTANCE WE ATTACH TO THE FINAL
ACT; THE SELF-IMPLEMENTING CHARACTER OF MOST PROVISIONS;
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

THE VALIDITY OF ALL COMMITMENTS UNDERTAKEN; THE VALUE
OF PRACTICAL AND VISIBLE PROGRESS FOR BOTH SIDES; AND
THE CONSTRUCTIVE CHARACTER OF OUR EXCHANGES SO FAR. IT
WOULD MENTION THE UPCOMING CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS AND
THE EXCEPTIONALLY POSITIVE COURSE OF THE CULTURAL EXHCANGES
REVIEW TALKS IN DECEMBER, AND ALLUDE FAVORABLY TO POST-
HELSINKI PROGRESS ON MANEUVERS AND OBSERVERS, JOURNALISTS'
VISAS AND INTERNAL TRAVEL, PASSPORT FEES, AND SOME SPECIFIC
FAMILY REUNIFICATION CASES, AND TO THE POSSIBILITY OF
PROGESS CONCERNING DIPLOMATIC TRAVEL AND MARRIAGE CASES.
IT MIGHT CLOSE WITH THE OBSERVATION THAT MAINTAINING
THIS MOMENTUM CAN BE EXPECTED TO CONTRIBUTE TO IMPROVED
RELATIONS FAR BEYOND THE SPECIFIC FIELD OF CSCE IMPLE-
MENTAION, JUST AS FAILING TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THIS
OPPORTUNITY COULD HAVE UNFORTUNATE CONSEQUENCES IN OTHER
AREAS AS WELL.

9. THE SECOND PART WOULD BRIEFLY SET FORTH U.S.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

VIEWS ON THE SPECIFIC TOPICS WHICH BOTH SIDES HAVE RAISED
IN THE OCT 14/NOV 12 EXCHANGE, PLUS REDUCTIONOF TRAVEL RES-
TRICTIONS, (AS SUGGESTED PARA 5 REFTEL)
ALONG THE FOLLOWING LINES:

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

CONFIDENTIAL POSS DUPE

PAGE 01 MOSCOW 00663 02 OF 02 161456Z

47
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03

NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 CU-02

BIB-01 IO-11 EPA-01 DOTE-00 FEAE-00 DHA-02 EB-07

COME-00 VO-03 SCA-01 /087 W
---------- 130234
R 161302Z JAN 76
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8779
INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERLIN
AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST
AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY PRAGUE
AMEMBASSY SOFIA
AMEMBASSY WARSAW

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MOSCOW 663

-- MFN. REITERATE ADMINISTRATION'S COMMITMENT TO
ACHIEVE PROGRESS WITHIN JURIDICAL AND POLITICAL LIMITS
WE FACE, WITH A REFERENCE TO DECEMBER SENATE COMMERCE
COMMITTEE HEARINGS, AND EXPRESS PERPLEXITY AT WHAT MORE
THE SOVIETS THINK WE CAN DO, PARTICULARLY SINCE FINAL
ACT LANGUAGE DOES NOT IMPLY A COMMITMENT TO EXTEND
MFN;

--RADIOS. MAKE THE POINT THAT WE CAN FIND
NOTHING IN THE FINAL ACT WHICH WOULD SEEM TO FURNISH
A PROPER BASIS FOR THE COMPLAINTS IN THE NOV 12 PRE-

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

SENTATION, MUCH LESS FOR INTEMPERATE PRESS ATTACKS
ON VOA, ALTHOUGH WE HOPE RADIOS ON BOTH SIDES WILL
INDEED BE USED "TO MEET THE INTEREST OF MUTUAL UNDER-
STANDING AMONG PEOPLES AND AIMS SET FORTH BY THIS
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 MOSCOW 00663 02 OF 02 161456Z

CONFERENCE," AS THE FINAL ACT PROVIDES. (GIVEN PRESS
ATTACKS ON VOA IN SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA JAN 10 AND ON
RL AND RFE IN PRAVDA JAN 13, WE THINK IT LIKELY THAT
EXCHANGE ON RADIOS WILL BE BRISK.)

--WORKING CONDITIONS FOR JOURNALISTS. EXPRESS
SATISFACTION CONCERNING STEPS TO EASE INTERNAL
TRAVEL OF JOURNALISTS DUE TO GO INTO EFFECT MARCH 1,
QNE INTEREST IN HAVING NEW PROVISIONS CONCERNING
VISAS AND INTERNAL TRAVEL APPLY TO AMERICAN NATIONALS
EMPLOYED BY INFORMATION ENTERPRISES OF OTHER COUNTRIES;
AND SUGGEST MORE ACTIVE REGULAR CONSULTATION REGARDING
CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH JOURNALISTS WORK;

--FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY VISIT
CASES. REITERATE THE STRONG INTEREST IN PROGRESS
WHICH WAS THE CENTERPIECE OF OUR OCT 14 PRESENTATION,
WITH SPECIAL STRESS ON REP LIST INCLUDING SOME GOOD INDIVIDUAL
CASES. WE SHOULD DESCRIBE THIS AS THE AREA WHERE
PROGRESS CAN BE EXPECTED TO BRING THE MOST SUBSTANTIAL
BENEFITS TO THE MUTUAL INTERESTS OF BOTH SIDES;

--REDUCTION OF TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS. ALTHOUGH
NOT MENTIONED IN THE OCT 14-NOV12 EXCHANGE, WE BELIEVE
THAT RECENT SOVIET MOVEMENT CONCERNING JOURNALISTS'
TRAVEL AND INDICATIONS THAT THE SOVIETS ARE REVIEWING
DIPLOMATIC TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS MAKE IT APPROPRIATE
TO INTRODUCE A PROPOSAL TO DISCUSS MUTUAL REDUCTION
OF RESTRICTIONS ON ALL TRAVELERS AT THIS POINT IN OUR
PRESENTATION, IN KEEPING WITH THE SEQUENCE OF THE
FINAL ACT, UNDER "PERSONAL AND PROFESSIONAL TRAVEL."
IN OUR VIEW, WE SHOULD USE THE OPPORTUNITY TO SIGNAL
U.S. INTEREST IN DISCUSSIONS OF PRACTICAL STEPS BY
BOTH SIDES, TO ESTABLISH THAT WE HAVE ALL TRAVELERS--
AND NOT JUST DIPLOMATS AND JOURNALISTS--IN MIND, AND
TO IDENTIFY TWO AREAS WHERE DISCUSSION COULD BE PARTI-
CULARLY FRUITFUL: NOTE-FREE TRAVEL, AND REDUCTION OR
ELIMINATION OF CLOSED ZONES:

--"SOCIAL ORGANIZATION" VISAS. STATE THAT THIS
IS AN AREA WHERE MORE SATISFACTORY PERFORMANCE BY BOTH
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 03 MOSCOW 00663 02 OF 02 161456Z

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

SIDES SHOULD BE SOUGHT, IN THE FIRST INSTANCE, DURING CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS;

--MULTIPLE ENTRY-EXIT VISAS FOR LONG-TERM EXCHANGEES AND BUSINESSMEN. CROSS-REFERENCE THE FACT THAT WE WILL RAISE THIS TOPIC IN CONSULAR REVIEW TALKS;

--VISA ISSUANCE DELAYS. STATE THAT DIFFICULTIES APPARENTLY EXIST ON BOTH SIDES AND THAT THIS TOPIC SHOULD ALSO BE TREATED IN OUR REVIEW OF CONSULAR RPOBLEMS.

10. IN EMBASSY'S VIEW, MAJOR PURPOSE OF APPROACH WOULD BE TO SET STAGE FOR NEXT STEP OF DETAILED DISCUSSION, RATHER THAN TO INITIATE IT. BY REAFFIRMING U.S. OFFICIAL CONCERN, APPROACH WOULD REINJECT U.S.-SOVIET BILATERAL FACTOR INTO THE DEVELOPING OF SOVIET CSCE IMPLEMENTATION PROGRAM (WHILE SERVING TO MAINTIAIN IT) APPROACH WOULD HELP IDENTIFY THE REAL PRIORITY ITEMS FOR FURTHER DISCUSSION. SPECIFICALLY, IT WOULD MAKE CLEAR TO THE SOVIETS THAT FAMILY REUNIFICATION, MARRIAGE AND FAMILY VISIT CASES AND DOMESTIC TRAVEL RESTRICTIONS STAND NEAR THE TOP OF OUR LIST.

11. THE SOVIETS ARE ALREADY MOVING ON CSCE IMPLEMENTATION, AND THIS SUGGESTS WE SHOULD GIVE ATTENTION TO ENSURING THAT THEY MOVE IN OUR DIRECTION, TOWARD IMPROVEMENTS IN THE BASKET 111 ITEMS OF PRIORITY INTEREST TO US. THIS MAY NOT BE EASY, SINCE AT SOME POINT, IF THEY PROVE RECEPTIVE TO FURTHER DISCUSSION AND IF THE CONSULAR TALKS ALSO SHOW THEY ARE INTERESTED IN PROGRESS, THEY MAY BE REQUIRED TO DEMONSTRATE INTERNALLY THAT CSCE IMPLEMENTATION WITH THE US IS A TWO-WAY STREET. IN THE NATURE OF THINGS WE ARE SO FAR AHEAD OF THEM IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS AREA THAT WE HAVE LITTLE TO GIVE AND MUCH TO ASK, AND CONSEQUENTLY WE MAY NEED ALL THE BARGAINING CHIPS WE CAN MUSTER ON ITEMS OF INTEREST TO THEM. AND, IN OUR VIEW, THIS PROSPECT RAISES QUESTIONS AS TO WHETHER WE SHOULD MAKE ANY UNILATERAL US MOVES PRIOR TO THE NEXT APPROACH IN ORDER TO SWEETEN THE ATMOSPHERE. IF WE ARE SATISFIED THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO DEVELOP AN EXTENSIVE
CONFIDENTIAL
CONFIDENTIAL

RESERVE OF CONTINGENCY MOVES FOR THE DETAILED BARGAINING WE HOPE THE APPROACH WILL SPARK, THEN WE SHOULD BY ALL MEANS CONSIDER PRIOR UNILATERAL MOVES, AS AN EFFECTIVE DEVICE TO CREATE A POSITIVE MOOD FOR THE APPROACH. IF TH RESERVE IS LIABLE TO BE SMALL, HOWEVER, DEPARTMENT MAY WISH TO CONSIDER MAINTAINING IT AT THIS TIME FOR OPTIMAL USE ONCE CONCRETE DISCUSSIONS ARE ENGAGED.

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

MATLOCK

CONFIDENTIAL

NNN

Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: COLLECTIVE SECURITY, POLICIES, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 16 JAN 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: ullricre
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976MOSCOW00663
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760017-0332
From: MOSCOW
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760150/aaaabsdc.tel
Line Count: 333
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 7
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 STATE 6150
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: ullricre
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2004 by BoyleJA>; APPROVED <30 JUL 2004 by ullricre>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: NEW CSCE APPROACH TO SOVIET MFA
TAGS: PFOR, UR, US, CSCE
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006